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John Carter Brown.

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By Sarah Mandak

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SOME
T H O U G H T S

ON THE
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Of Improving and Securing the

A D V A N T A G E S

WHICH ACCRUE TO

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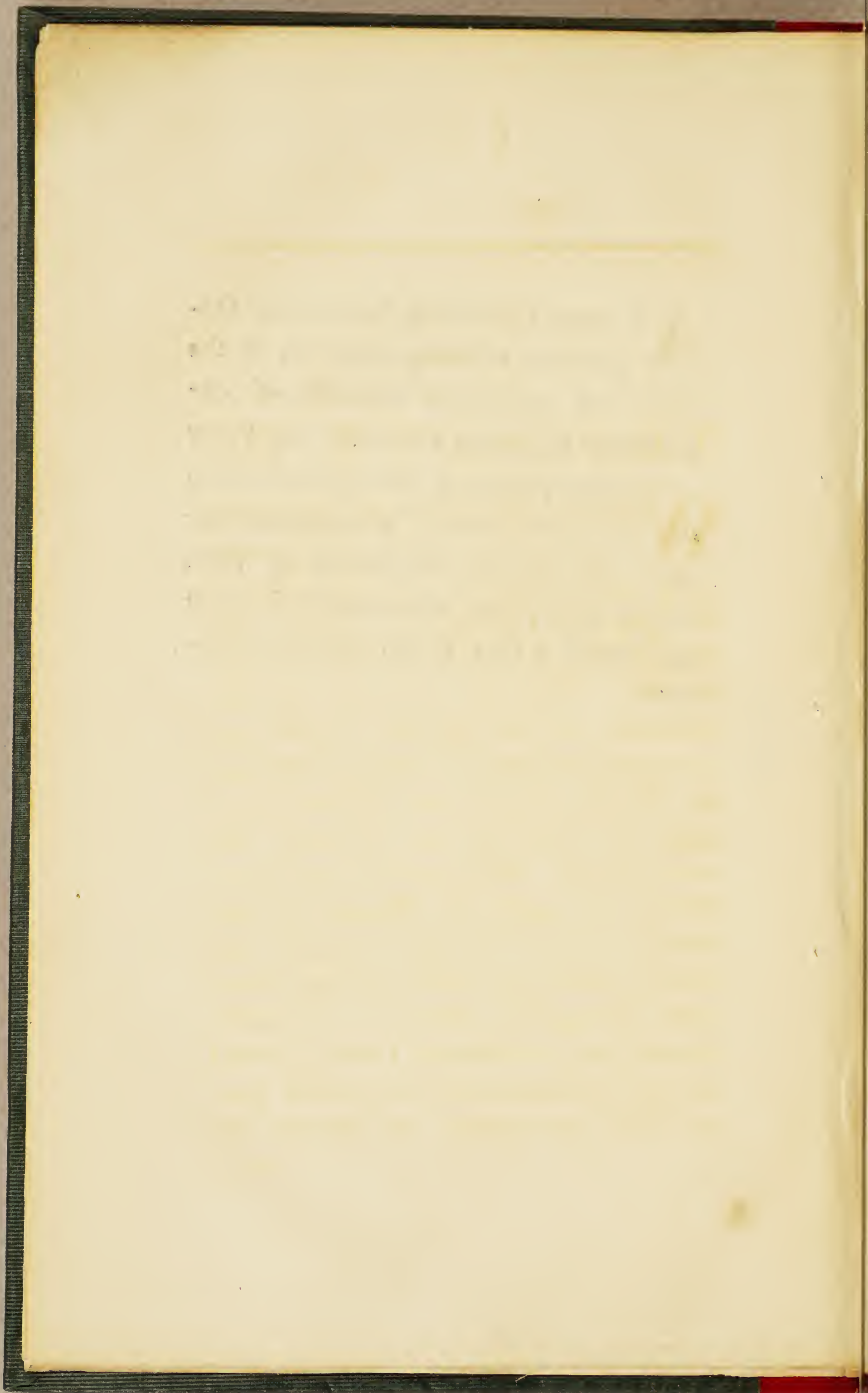
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M D C C L X V .

JOHN CARTER BROWN.

RPJCE

AS many Gentlemen have not an Opportunity of being informed of the State and commercial Interests of our Northern Colonies; the following Paper is thought proper to be reprinted from the *New York Mercury*, as containing the calm and genuine Sentiments of these People themselves, who make so great and dutiful a Part of his Majesty's Subjects.



S O M E
T H O U G H T S, &c.

W H E N the Peace was concluded, and the Terms of it were known, every *British* Heart in *America* exulted at the glorious Consequences which they thought they saw resulting from a successful War. They did not enter into the Discussion of that Question which gave so much Disturbance at Home, Whether the Ministry had secured all the Advantages, to which, by our Victories, we were entitled. They were at too great a Distance to judge of Matters of that Nature. But it was their Opinion, that *Britain* (which they glory in being sprung from, and making a Part of, as it intitles them to many inestimable Privileges) had laid the Foundation of the greatest Empire that ever existed: An Empire the
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more glorious, as it was not to be founded on the Ruin and Destruction of our own Species, but what is in the highest Degree laudable, the cultivating and peopling an immense Wilderness, which should, for Ages to come, afford an Asylum to the oppressed Subjects of arbitrary Governments.

THIS Empire, *Britain* has it now in her Power to form : And if ever a Nation had Questions of Importance to deliberate on, they are these : How shall we secure the vast Acquisitions we have acquired ? How shall we improve them to our greatest Advantage ?

THE Answer to the first is not very difficult. *Britain*, at present, holds her Colonies with a strong and invincible Hand. Her Fleet, equal almost to the naval Force of all the Rest of *Europe*, renders it impossible for any Power to wrest them from her. And should there arise, by any uncommon Revolution in the Affairs of *Europe*, a superior naval Power, the present and growing Strength
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of these Colonies, will render it impossible, by an Invasion from so distant a Country, to subdue such a Number of loyal Subjects, who having the highest Sense of Liberty, will never submit to any other Government, but such a one as they are sure will maintain them in the same Privileges they emigrated to enjoy ; for the Love of Liberty is more deeply impressed in *Americans*, than in any other People, it being natural to those who are descended from *Britons* ; and those (who now make the Majority) that fled from the Oppression and Slavery of arbitrary Governments, have imbibed the Principle still more strongly, being by the Experience of both, confirmed in a Love of Freedom, and a Detestation of Bondage. Thus we see, that against all Dangers from without, there is no need of any other Provision, but the Support of the naval Power of *Great-Britain*, to which she will ever be attentive. As to any which may arise from within, they exist only in the Imaginations of Men unskilled in Politicks, and totally unacquainted

quainted with History, and the State of the Colonies.

WE think ourselves at present the happiest People (with respect to Government) of any People under the Sun, and really are so. Making a Part of a large Empire, we are protected in our Persons and Effects ; and so much Trade as the Wisdom of the Nation has thought proper to permit, as consistent with the Interest of the Whole. Being divided into small Governments, our public Affairs are managed with a Frugality and Oeconomy suitable to our Circumstances. So that though we are not a rich People, we enjoy Advantages equal to the richest and most opulent, having the Necessaries of Life in great Abundance ; and though, in order to procure one of them (*to wit*, Cloathing) and many Conveniencies, we are obliged to send abroad all the Cash we acquire, and as fast as we acquire it ; yet, as we transmit it to a Country, which in Return secures to us every Thing else that is valuable in Life, we have no Reason to repine. We think ourselves happier in
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being divided into several Governments, than if united in one, which would render our civil Government more unweildy and expensive; and in being dependent on *Great-Britain*, than in a State of Independence; for then the Disputes amongst ourselves would throw us into all the Confusion, and bring on us all the Calamities usually attendant on civil Wars. The Colonists have therefore every Motive to be fond of their present Situation, and none to make them revolt.

HISTORY does not furnish an Instance of a Revolt begun by the People, which did not take its Rise from Oppression; and nothing but this sensibly felt, can unite the several Governments in such a Design; and without Union they can do nothing. So that as we are sure *Britain* will not oppress her Colonies, and it is evident, that nothing else can give them either Power or Inclination to rebel, we may safely conclude, that they will remain stedfastly and firmly united to her; and by contributing to her Wealth and Power, continue to increase their
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own Security, and that Dependance which they esteem their Happiness, and which carries with it so many real Advantages.

THE other Question, How *Britain* shall improve to the utmost, the Advantages arising from the Possession of her Colonies, is a most important one; and I freely own my Incapacity to discuss it. I will, however, put together a few Thoughts on the Subject. To treat of it properly, it will be necessary to consider the Advantages she at present receives from them; for the Politician, whoever he be, that shall undertake to improve them, if he does not comprehend what they are at present, will be in Danger of losing the Substance, while he catches at a Shadow.

FIRST then, *Britain*, by Means of her Colonies, enjoys an extensive Trade; which, having the absolute and uncontrollable Regulation of, she draws to herself the Fruits of the Labour of many thousand industrious Hands; so that whatever they acquire, redounds to her Benefit;

Benefit ; and this she does without burthening them with Taxes, Tributes or Impositions of any Sort ; and being freely sent, and not wrung from them by Force ; the Colonies remain as much and as heartily attached to her, as if nothing was taken ; and as the Colonies increase, this Advantage must be increasing. That Trade alone is sufficient to possess *Great-Britain* of all that can possibly by any and every Means be drawn from her Colonies, is evident from this Consideration. Let us suppose one *European* Power possessing the whole *East India* Trade, with a Liberty to introduce the Commodities brought from thence into every other State : Is it not certain, that if this was the Case, the Wealth of all *Europe* would fall into the Hands of that Power ? But *Britain* has not only a Power to do this with respect to her Colonies, but has also the Monopoly of furnishing them with every Thing else they want from *Europe* ; most of which Wants she is able, without going for them abroad, to supply. — This may also be proved by Experience.

T H E R E

THERE is not a Colony on the Continent in which Exchange has not been constantly rising, except, during a *French* War, when it has been observed surprisingly to fall; the Reason of which is this, in Time of Peace, the Call for Remittances is greater than our Imports of Coin, or other Goods fit for that Purpose, is able to supply. But during a War, tho' our Imports of *European* Goods have been vastly increased, yet, as many of them were exchanged for foreign Sugar, Indigo, and other Goods, the Prices of which were then high in *Europe*, the Ballance of Trade was in our Favour; and Exchange fell in *New York* from 190 to 160; and in the former War, from 195 to 150; and proportionably, I believe, in the other Colonies. This shews, that whenever the Ballance of Trade is in our Favour, tho' that to *Europe* alwas remains against us, Exchange will fall; and whenever the Ballance upon the Whole is against us, it will rise: And as in Time of Peace it has been constantly rising, it follows, that we transmit to *Europe*, and chiefly

chiefly to *Britain*, all that we acquire. And such is the Demand for *British* Commodities, that more would be remitted, if more could be procured; this is proved by the great Sums due to the *London* Merchants.

I BELIEVE this will be sufficient to evince, that *Britain* draws at present from her Colonies, with respect to Money Matters, every Thing her Colonies can yield.

BUT there is another no less important Advantage. The Colonies make no insignificant Addition to the military Power of *Great-Britain*. Whenever she attacks her Enemies in *America*, the Part where both *France* and *Spain* are most vulnerable, she will find her Armies well and readily supplied; by Means of her Colonies; she will find them ready to assist her in every Enterprize she shall form; and soon able to raise Armies here whenever she pleases, at the sole Expence of Victualling them, sufficient to put her in Possession, in the Course of a short War, of all the *French*
and

and *Spanish West Indies*. In this the Colonies will as heartily engage, as they did in the Reduction of *Canada*, as by this Means they will acquire a Market for their Produce.

THIS will serve for a Sketch of the great Advantages *Britain* receives from her Colonies.

THE Causes of these, or rather the Cause, (for I believe one single one will be sufficient to account for them) it will be also useful to investigate; and then the Manner of treating them, in order to procure the greatest Revenue of Profits which they can possibly yield to the Mother Country, will appear less difficult to be discovered.

IT may be justly thought surprizing, that *Britain*, possessed of the roughest, and naturally the most unprofitable Soil in *America*, yielding little but what is forced from it by the hard Hand of severe Labour, should by the Industry of her Colonists, without the Interposition of the State
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in their Favour (except what has been thrown away on *Georgia* and *Halifax*, and employed in the Conquest of *Canada*) receive from her *North American* Possessions such eminent Advantages as I have mentioned. But this has no other Cause but that which made *Rome* the Mistress of the World, gave Grandeur, Riches and Power, to *Venice* and *Holland*, and at present constitutes the Glory of *Britain*, LIBERTY! For this, the first Settlers in *New-England* submitted to cultivate a stubborn Soil, amidst a savage People. This brings from every Part of *Europe* the Subjects of arbitrary Power, in order that they may here enjoy the natural Rights of Men, at present hardly known to any but the Subjects of the *British* Monarch. The same Cause will continue to increase these Advantages, till the *British* Trade equals what is at present carried on by all the People in *Europe*; for so many will the Subjects of *Britain* be in a few Centuries: Neither will this Increase of People ever endanger their Dependance; they will ever be too well pleased with their happy State to desire a Change; and they will be too much

divided

divided to enterprize one ; they will be rich in all the Neccessaries of Life, while Money, so necessary to an independent State, will ever be scarce ; for *Britain*, by the Regulation of their Trade, will draw all the Cash they can acquire to herself, as has been already demonstrated.

THIS Liberty consists in being governed by those Laws, which formed the Constitution of *England* when the Colonists first emigrated ; with the Power of making such others (providing they were not contrary to the Laws of *England*) as their Circumstances should make either necessary or convenient. In Consequence of these Privileges, they thought they were firmly fixed in that most invaluable one, *not to be obliged to pay any Tax, without their own Consent, given by their Representatives* ; for this has been indulged to them for near an hundred Years. When the public Affairs required any Disbursements, either ordinary or extraordinary, their Governors applied to the Representatives of the People, and they raised whatever they thought necessary ; sometimes complying,
at

thought necessary ; sometimes complying, at other Times refusing to comply with such Regulations. When ever an Aid of Men from the Colonies was found necessary for the Reduction of Canada, the Requisitions were made in the same Manner; and the Government, so far at that Time from commanding an immediate Compliance, promised an Encouragement to our voluntary Engagement in that Enterprize. Thus we thought this Privilege established on the firmest Basis ; and this has been the principal Cause of the great Increase of People in these Colonies, and the vast Advantages resulting from them to *Great-Britain*.

HAVING cleared the Way by these Premises, what I have further to say on the Question proposed, will be contained in very few Words, as the Answer will be only the natural Consequences of what has been already observed.

IF the Demand for *British* Manufactures, and other Goods imported from *Britain*, be so great as to take off every Thing that will serve for Remittances

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from these Colonies, the Way to reap still greater Advantages from them, is so to enlarge their Trade, as to furnish them with more valuable Remittances. To extend their Trade to the neutral Ports in the *West Indies*, is an effectual Way of doing this; for if our own Islands do furnish a sufficient Quantity of Sugars (which may be now reckoned amongst the Necessaries of Life) whatever we procure more will be exported, and bring a Gain to the Nation in Proportion to its Value. If our Islanders, on the contrary, do not furnish a sufficient Quantity for our Consumption, the Price we shall be obliged to pay for them during the present Restraining, will much lessen the Quantity of our Remittances Home.

EVEN Money sent to the *French* Islanders can be no Injury to the Nation, since, by purchasing their Produce at the first Hand, we shall acquire all the Profits of transporting it to foreign Parts.

THE not permitting us to exchange that Lumber for *West-India* Produce, which otherwise,

otherwise, for Want of a Price adequate to the Expence of transporting it, must be burnt, in order to clear our Lands, in the Place where it grows, from what has been observed, must appear extremely absurd. Can a good Reason be given, why we should not change our Ashes into Sugar ?

IT is a Quere, whether our Remittances might not also be encreased by allowing us to bring directly from *Spain* and *Portugal*, Wines, paying a Duty ; for this would enable us to supply those Countries with Wheat, for which we often want a Market : But to supply them, and return with Vessels entirely empty, will seldom answer. It is true, this Method would interfere with the *British* Market for that Commodity : But sound Policy will teach us, that *Britain* ought never to fear a Competition between her and her Colonies in Trade ; because, as I have before observed, all the Acquirements of her Colonies, in the End, must be remitted to *Britain*.

As in *Europe* it is good Policy in *Britain* to take off a great Quantity of *French*

Wines, furnishing them in Return with Beef and Bread ; by which Means, in every War, *France* is put to the greatest Difficulty in Victualling her Fleets and Armies ; so those Colonies which furnish these Essentials, ought to be encouraged as the firmest Support of her Empire in *America* ; not only as they are necessary to the rest, but because the *French* and *Spaniards* depending on them for Provisions, are driven to the greatest Distress during a War, and are then forced, for a scanty Supply, to open their Ports, and make a Surrender of their Wealth. Two Millions, Sterling, in one Year, during the last War, accrued to *Great-Britain* by this Means. Hence it appears, that no Opening given to a Trade between the Colonies, ought by any Means to be discouraged ; for the Advantage is ever on our Side. The Objection that our Intercourse with the foreign Sugar Colonies, is an Encouragement to those Colonies to the Detriment of our own, ought to have no Weight ; for their Increase will rather be an Advantage to *Britain*. If they should greatly increase, as *France* will be unable to

to supply them with Provisions, they must necessarily depend for them on the *British* Northern Colonies ; and this will therefore open a Trade which will take off many *British* Manufactures : But if no Inter-
course is suffered, they will naturally supply themselves with Bread and Lumber by their own Industry, for which Purpose they have Lands and Woods sufficient ; and then we shall become more and more necessary to them, and proportionably unprofitable to our Mother Country.

IT will follow also from what I have before observed, that *Britain*, as a Nation, can gain nothing by the Imposition of internal Taxes on her Colonies ; for if she does, at present, and if it will be in her Power always to draw all the Riches of her Colonies to herself, by a Regulation of their Trade, it will be, to the last Degree, absurd to attempt to get more. This is like killing the Hen to gather her Eggs ; or felling the Tree to gather the Fruit. It will drive the Rich from amongst us, and oblige the Poor to use their utmost Industry to supply themselves

selves with those Necessaries, for which they used to depend on the Workmen of *Britain*. More might be said here of the ill Consequences of such a Piece of Policy; but as the Subject is disagreeable, I will just mention some of the Reasons given by *Americans*, why they should be exempted from Taxes.

THEY must support a civil Government at their own Expence.

THEY chuse none of the Representatives in Parliament.

A *British* House of Commons, from whom all Money Bills ever take their Rise, must be strongly inclined by their own Interest to lay a heavy Burthen on the Colonies, in order to lighten their own.

AND being at a great Distance, they will, for Want of proper Information, be ignorant of what the Colonies are able to bear. This may occasion great Injustice, and perhaps the most pernicious political Blunders.

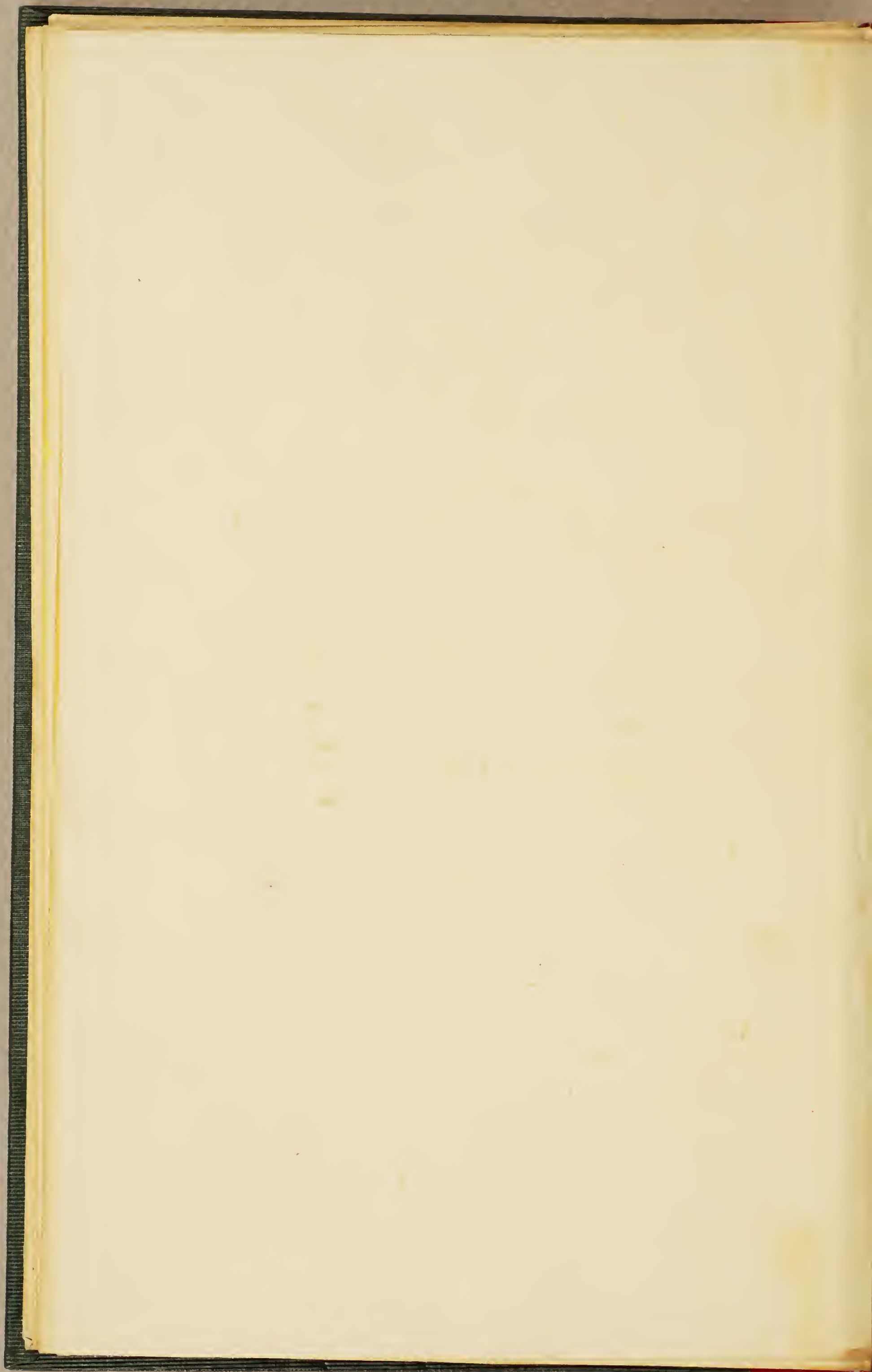
TAXES

TAXES here must be most heavily felt, because our Trade is so regulated, as to keep us more indebted at Home than all the Specie in the Country is able to pay.

WE send yearly Home a Sum in Specie equal, or nearly equal to all the Specie in the Country; and therefore taxing us is robbing the *British* Merchants and Manufacturers.

I WILL conclude all with this Observation, with which I chuse to begin and end, that *Britain*, by being contented with all her Colonies can yield, which *all* may be obtained by a wise Regulation of their Trade; will found the greatest Empire in the World, and such a one, as her *American* Subjects will ever find it their truest Interest to support.

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